Niveau(x) d'enseignement: 0 Numéro EDUQ : 8470795
Centre d'intérêt: 170

Caldwell, Gary, 1942-.

Economic opportunity for English townshippers / Gary Caldwell ; report prepared for Townshippers Association. -- [Sherbrooke] : The Association, 1984.
iii, 78, [2] f. ; 28 cm.

Bibliogr. : f. [80]. Disponible en langue française sous le titre: L'avenir économique de la population anglophone des Cantons-de-l'Est.

Descripteur(s): *Situation économique *Développement économique *Développement régional *Marché du travail *Emploi *Main-d'oeuvre *Anglophone *Caractéristiques socio-économiques

Identificateur(s) de nom: *Estrie (Québec) *Cantons-de-l'Est (Québec)

L'étude porte sur la situation économique et les perspectives d'avenir de la communauté anglophone de l'Estrie. Ses objectifs sont les suivants: 1. déterminer la nature de l'activité économique actuelle des anglophones de l'Estrie et son évolution depuis dix ou quinze ans; 2. découvrir quelles sont les possibilités offertes aux anglophones; 3. établir quels sont les obstacles à la réalisation de ces possibilités; 4. formuler des suggestions quant à des actions à entreprendre pour contourner ces obstacles.

Cinq sources de renseignements ont été utilisées pour cette étude: 1. les recensements de Statistique Canada de 1971 et 1981, en ce qui concerne la répartition par emploi et les migrations; 2. un sondage par entrevue mené en 1983 auprès de 200 familles de langue anglaise choisies selon un échantillon stratifié; 3. un sondage téléphonique mené auprès de cent jeunes diplômés de l'école secondaire en 1981 et qui portait sur les perspectives du marché de l'emploi; 4. l'analyse de quatre rapports sur le développement économique régional de l'Estrie publiés depuis dix ans; 5. l'examen de Starobe, un cas de développement économique.

S'il existe une classe aisée, oeuvrant dans le secteur public et les grandes entreprises du secteur privé, et une classe à bas revenu, travaillant dans de petites entreprises ou pour elle-même, il n'y a guère de classe moyenne anglophone. La caractéristique la plus frappante de ce groupe économique est le vieillissement accéléré qui découle de l'émigration des jeunes travailleurs et du fait que les jeunes qui restent dans la région ne fondent pas de familles. En ce moment, la viabilité sociale de la communauté anglophone de l'Estrie est précaire, sa viabilité économique disparaît et sa viabilité politique n'existe plus. Le seul salut pourrait venir d'une organisation du capital anglophone en vue du développement économique de la région, ce qui semble difficile.

Type de document: r
Région(s) administrative(s): 05

DUQ 8470795

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY FOR ENGLISH TOWNSHIPPERS

Report prepared for

TOWNSHIPPERS ASSOCIATION

Gary Caldwell
January 25,1984

EDUQ 8470795

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
List of Tables and Figures	ii
Introduction	1
I Data and Methods	6
II How Many and Where	20
III Who are the English Townshippers of the Eighties	25
IV The English and the Townships	32
V What they do for a Living	36
VI The Language Issue	48
VII Social Life	52
VIII Perception of the Future	54
IX The Future: The Youth Survey	57
X The Question of Economic Development in the Townships	64
Conclusion	72

* * *

List of Appendices	79
Bibliography	80

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Page

Table 1 - List of the Twenty Sample Municipalities ---------- 10

Table 2 - Comparison of the Occupational Distribution of the English Mother-Tongue, Male, Experienced Labour Force of the Townships in 1981 and that of the Heads of the English Economic Households 1983 Sample---------- 13

Table 3 - Comparison of the Occupational Distribution of the Townships, Male, EMT-ELF 1981, and of the Heads of Households EEH Sample, 1983, Amongst Four General Categories---------- 15

Table 4 - English Mother-Tongue Population of the Townships, by Census Division, 1971 and 1981---------- 21

Table 5- English Mother-Tongue Population of the Townships as a Percentage of the Total Population, 1971 and 1981---------- 22

Table 6 - English Mother-Tongue Experienced Labour Force in the Townships, 1971 and 1981---------- 24

Table 7 - Age of the English and French Mother-Tongue Experienced Labour Forces, 1981, and of the Heads of Households EEH Sample, 1983--- 26

Table 8 - Age Structure of the EMT and FMT populations of the Townships, 1981---------- 28

Table 9 - Educational Qualifications of Heads of Household---------- 30

Table 10 - Place of Birth of Heads of Households and of Head Couple of Households---------- 32

Table 11 - Migration Status of the English Experienced Labour Force in Quebec and in the Townships, 1971 and 1981---------- 33

Table 12 - Broad Category Comparison of the Occupational Distribution of the English and French Experienced Labour Force in Quebec and in the Townships, 1981---------- 37

Table 13 - Comparison of the Occupational Distribution of the French and English Mother-tongue Experienced Labour Forces, Quebec, 1981---- 39

Table 14 - Comparison of the Occupational Distribution of the English and the French Mother-Tongue Experienced Labour Forces of the Townships, 1981---------- 40

Table 15 - Income of the Heads of Household---------- 41

Table 16 - Employment Status of Heads of Household---------- 44

Table 17 - Total Hours Worked per Week, Heads of Households---------- 45

Table 18 - Extent of Home Production in the English Economic Households---- 46

Table 19 - Comparison of Language of Work and Language of Co-workers for Heads of Households----------49

Table 20 - Juxtaposition of Language used at Work, in Social Life and in the Market Place, Heads of Households----------50

Table 21 - Opportunities for Future Advancement, Heads of Households----------54

Table 22 - Perceived Chances of Finding Another Job in the Townships----------55

Table 23 - Employment Prospects for English Youth, Replies of Heads of Household-56

Table 24 - Comparison of Birth-Place, EEH Sample, Heads of Household; and the Youth Survey----------58

Figure 1 - The Twelve Census Divisions Constituting the Area Designated as the Townships---------- 8

INTRODUCTION

Preamble

The study reported upon in these pages constitutes the research component of the «Townshippers Association» 1982-83 «Economic Opportunities Project». Having decided early in the year to attach a certain priority to the question of jobs and economic opportunities, the Association charged a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Earle McCurdy to supervise the project which embraces an action and a research component.

Subsequent to discussions with Marjorie Goodfellow (President of the Association) and Mr. Royal Orr (Executive Director) as well as with Mr. McCurdy, the Association entrusted the present author to carry out a research project, the nature and extent of which is laid out in the document «Economic Opportunity for English Eastern Townshippers, Third Version, March 31, 1983».[1] As the full title suggests, the definition of the research to be undertaken was arrived at as a result of a series of discussions—particularly one with the full Board of the Association and others with the Executive Director — based on submissions by this author.

1- Appendix A to the present report, available upon request.

Purposes of the Study

As finally formulated, the objectives of the research reported on here were fourfold and stated in the following terms:

I - Determine what is the nature of the present economic activity of English Townshippers, and how the nature of this activity has evolved over the last ten to fifteen years.

II- Determine what, in the light of existing economic opportunities in the region, are the opportunities available to English Townshippers.

III- Determine what are the obstacles to the realization of these opportunities.

IV - Make suggestions as to the actions that might be undertaken to alleviate the impact of these obstacles.

Over and above these more specific objectives, it should be noted that the integrating theme of the present research effort is the need to better understand the economic dimension of the English community in the Townships. The Association has become convinced that the survival and well-being of the English community in the Townships is closely tied to what the economy holds in store for the members of the community.

Source Materials

As specified in the research proposal, the present report draws upon five distinct sources of information.

The first of these is the 1971 and the 1981 Canadian censuses, particularly with respect to occupational distribution and migration status of the Townships population. The second body of materials, the major one, is the results of an interview-survey of a sample of two hundred English «economic» households, our English Economic Households or «EEH» Survey. Thirdly, in an effort to get a better reading of the experience of young people with respect to jobs and economic opportunity in the Townships we surveyed, by telephone, one hundred 1981 high school graduates, the Youth Survey. The fourth set of materials is of a very different nature: it is the set of four reports on regional economic development in the Townships prepared over the last decade. And finally, in order to better understand the obstacles to economic opportunity, we undertook to examine and report upon one very notable case of economic development, the Starobe experience.

Overview of Content

The next chapter contains the necessary, but for many, fastidious exposition of the methods used in generating and interpretating the data just referred to. Hence the reader, so inclined to read such matters, may better appreciate the strengths and limitations of the research reported on here; those not so inclined could proceed to the following chapter.

In the second chapter we delimit the English mother-tongue labour force in the Townships and indicate how it is distributed across the Townships.

Next, in chapter three, we proceed to characterize this labour force in terms of a number of social traits which bear upon their economic activity as revealed by our English Economic Households Survey. This English «economic» population is, we discovered, very rooted in and attached to the Townships; this is the subject of chapter four.

In chapter five is to be found the all important description of what people do, both in terms of jobs in the official economy and in terms of what they do in the unofficial economy. In this chapter we also touch upon the questions of income, time spent working, and economic security.

Language, more precisely the extent to which one does and can function in French , has a great bearing on how well one can manage in an economy that is now largely French-speaking. This question we address in chapter six. In the following chapter, seven, we dwell on a particular aspect of the social life of the heads of our economic households that came to light in the survey and which we believe to be pertinent, the degree to which they are isolated.

The last three chapters all deal with economic prospects. Chapter eight with the perceptions of the future held by the heads of our economic households; chapter nine with the experience of those who have just entered the labour market, the members of our youth survey; and chapter ten, with the question of economic development in the Townships generally.

And of course, as in all reports of this nature, one is called upon to speculate on what could be, as opposed to what is. In the final section we attempt to draw conclusions based on what we have found out, and otherwise kn[illegible]about the question in point; and we did in fact hazard a

number of recommendations concerning what the Townshippers Association might do in pursuit of their preoccupation with economic opportunity for English Townshippers, however these recommendations have been submitted separately to the Association.

I- DATA AND METHODS

From the outset we adopted the position that the economic activity of a population cannot be measured only in terms of formal employment and income, particularly in a relatively under-developed area like the Eastern Townships. Consequently, we have tried to encompass in the scope of our inquiry not only participation in the official economy, but also unofficial economic activity such as casual employment, exchange-in-kind, mutual aid and home production. In addition, we have also inquired about forms of saving and investment such as buying one's own home or acquiring life insurance.

However, data on economic activity, even mountains of it, would be of limited use if we were unable to relate this economic activity to the social life of the individuals concerned. For this reason we also collected, in our interviews, considerable social and demographic information which would allow us to interpret the economic information in terms of the social community of which the individuals concerned are a part. In the case of some items upon which information was collected, our conviction that the data would be pertinent was based on previous research experience with the same population. We turn now to a brief description of the types of data upon which this report is based.

Census Data

The census data we have obtained and used documents the mother-tongue, age, sex, and migration status of the «experienced labour force» of Quebec in 1971 and 1978. The experienced labour force is composed of all those fifteen years of age and over who are employed or who were employed

sometime during the six months before the census took place (between January and June). With regard to validity and reliability of this census data, it must be borne in mind that the information is now gathered by mail, and the respondent fills out the questionnaire without the help of an interviewer; that the labour force information came from the census "long form" which was a one in three sample in 1971 and a one-in-five sample in 1981; and finally, that in order to protect confidentiality any figure between 1 and 5 is rounded up or down to 0 or 5. We also used census data on the total size of the English mother-tongue population in Quebec and in the Eastern Townships in 1971 and 1981.

Definitions

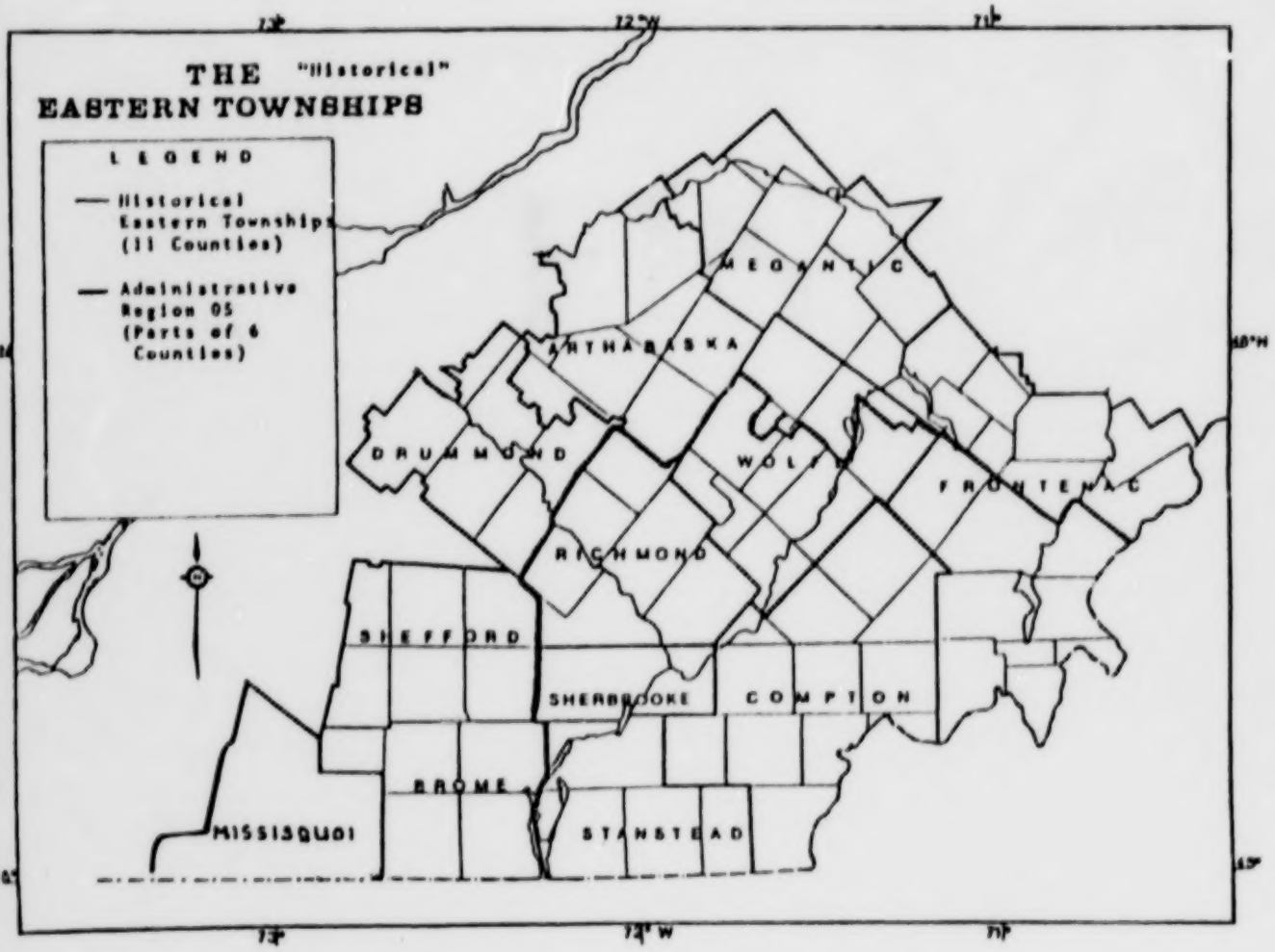
Reference to two major questions of definition is in order here. We have defined, as agreed with the Townshippers, the English community in terms of the «restrictives»[1] or mother-tongue definition throughout. As for the Eastern Townships we have used the historical definition which takes in the old Quebec counties of Arthabaska, Brome, Compton, Drummond, Frontenac, Megantic, Richmond, Shefford, Stanstead, Sherbrooke and Wolfe; plus, upon the request of the Townshippers, the old county of Missisquoi. For those unfamiliar with the Canadian census the old counties have been retained by Statistics Canada and are their census divisions. Hence we have included twelve census divisions. Figure 1 provides the outline of what is conventionally understood to be the Historical Eastern Townships to which we have added

---

1- See in this respect Caldwell, 1982.

Missisquoi. Throughout the study we shall speak simply of the Townships to designate the twelve census divisions.

FIGURE 1: The Twelve Census Divisions Constituting The Area Designated as the Townships[1]



1- Adapted from map used in Caldwell 1973, p.151.

Selecting the Sample Municipalities

We proceed now to the major data source of the study, the two hundred interviews of English economic households. Defined as an «economic household» were all people living in self-contained housing units where the head, or chief provider, was English mother-tongue and between the ages of 16 and 64. Incidentally, an EMT (English mother-tongue) individual living alone and between the ages of 16 and 64 would constitute a household.

As there is no master list of EMT households in the Townships from which to draw a sample, we proceeded by means of a «stratified» sample. Having decided with the Townshippers that the sample should be as representative as possible of the different geographical areas of the Townships and of the different «classes» which make up the EMT population, we proceeded to establish a judgemental sample of municipalities. First, in conjunction with Mr. McCurdy's committee, a list of municipalities was prepared on the basis of four precise criteria which were: one, representation of all twelve counties; two, inclusion of urban, rural non-farm and farm municipalities; three, representation of municipalities in which the English presence was proportionately strong and weak; and finally, inclusion, if possible of municipalities previously studied by Martin Schulte[1] and Caldwell.[2] The twenty municipalities chosen were as listed in Table I. All counties were represented in this list, however the municipality of Milan in Frontenac was subsequently abandoned owing to our inability to find ten English economic households there and replaced by South Stukely in Shefford. The documentation of the chosen municipalities according

---

1- In the summer of 1982, Martin Schulte carried out field-work for a comparative study of English and French communities in the Townships. His study has not yet been published.

2- Caldwell 1981 (Conseil de la langue française).

to the four criteria listed above is available in an appendix to the report (Appendix B).

TABLE 1 - List of the Twenty Sample Municipalities

1- Sawyerville	11- Magog
2- Scotstown	12- Potton (Mansonville)
3- Bishopton	13- Sutton
4- Leeds, Kinnear's Mills	14- Waterloo
5- Danville	15- South Stukely
6- Melbourne	16- South Durham
7- Lennoxville	17- Ulverton
8- Sherbrooke	18- Drummondville
9- North Hatley	19- Cowansville
10- Rock Island	20- Stanbridge East

Selecting the Households

Once having decided on the municipalities to be included in the sample, the next step was to identify and randomly sample the English economic households which we shall henceforth designate as the EEHs. This we did with the help of a local contact-person made available by the Townshippers and the local electoral lists, either provincial or municipal. In cases where the municipal electoral lists was long, over ten pages, we began by making a random selection of pages. Once the pages were selected the interviewer, Kenneth Allan, and the contact-person proceeded to identify all English economic households on these

pages. Next, twenty households were randomly chosen from among the list of English households. Although our sample size in each municipality was ten, twenty were initially chosen to allow for moves, deaths, errors and refusals. The first ten households that could be contacted for a subsequent interview were retained. Although availability for an interview varied greatly from one municipality to another, we were able in all but the case of Sherbrooke to contact ten amongst the twenty. The contact-person in each municipality actually contacted the households retained and helped arrange interviews. Kenneth Allan, the interviewer, carried out the interviews in the households and he did all the interviews except those carried out in South Stukely by Christina Richards.

Representativity of the Sample

The crucial question is of course the degree of representativity of our sample of two hundred EEHs. As we are dealing with a two-stage or stratified sample, there are two levels at which sampling error can occur: at the level of the choice of municipalities and at the level of the choice of individual households. In our opinion it would, in the present case, be a futile exercise to attempt to compute sampling error; the principal reasons being that so little can be ascertained regarding the target population, the English economic households. In the absence of such information with which to construct a sample and a measure of sampling error the best we could do is exercise as much rigour as possible in obtaining representativity at the level of the choice of municipalities and in avoiding bias at the level of the choice of the individual households to be included in the sample. We made every effort to do both.

Nonetheless, there is an "after the fact" method available to us for checking the representativity of the sample, once the data has been gathered and its characteristics known. Since we did obtain census data on the English mother-tongue experienced labour force (henceforth EMT-ELF) we can compare the distribution on relevant characteristics of our sample with this population. Admittedly, the target population of economic households and the experienced labour force is not exactly the same thing -- all workers do not necessarily constitute a household, they often are part of a household -- but they are close. Consequently, we have compared the occupational and age distributions of the sample and the target population. In the case of the occupational distributions the comparison is with the EMT-ELF in the Townships. We have limited ourselves to the male experienced labour force as 96% of our household heads are male.

TABLE 2 - Comparison of the Occupational Distribution of the English Mother-tongue, Male, Experienced Labour Force of the Townships 1981 and that of the Heads of the English Economic Households 1983 Sample.

Occupational Categories	EMT(M)-ELF Number	%	Heads EEH Number	%
1) MAN. ADMIN. & REL. OCCS.	950	7.7	25	12.5
2) OCC. IN NAT. SC. ENG. & MATH.	510	4.1	8	4.0
3) OCCS. IN SOC. SC. & REL. FIELDS	125	1.0	1	0.5
4) OCCUPATIONS IN RELIGION	60	0.5	1	0.5
5) TEACHING & RELATED OCCUPATIONS	580	4.7	11	5.5
6) OCCS. IN MEDICINE & HEALTH	195	1.6	4	2.0
7) ARTISTIC-LITERARY-REC. & REL. OCCS.	210	1.7	1	0.5
8) CLERICAL & RELATED OCCS.	660	5.3	5	2.5
9) SALES OCCUPATIONS	855	6.9	9	4.5
10) SERVICE OCC.	795	6.4	26	13.0
11) FARMERS	630	5.1	18	9.0
12) FARM. HORT. & ANIM. HUS. OCC.	915	7.4	4	2.0
13) FISH. HUNT. TROP. & REL OCCS.	0	0	0	0
14) FORESTRY & LOGGING OCCS.	85	0.7	3	1.5
15) MIN. QUAR. INC. OIL & GAS FIELD OCCS	50	0.4	2	1.0
16) 81/82 PROCESSING OCCS.	885	7.2	4	2.0
17) MACHINING & RELATED OCCUPATIONS	745	6.0	11	5.5
18) PRODUCT FAB. ASSEMB. & REPAIR OCC.	1,230	10.0	15	7.5
19) CONSTRUCTION TRADES OCCS.	835	6.8	8	4.0
20) TRANSPORT EQUIP. OPERATING OCCS.	665	5.4	21	10.5
21) MAT. HAN. & REL. OCC. NEC.	270	2.2	4	2.0
22) OTHER CRAFTS & EQUIP. OP. OCC.	250	2.0	4	2.0
OCCS. NOT ELSEWHERE CLASSIFIED	200	1.6	2	1.0
OCCS. NOT STATED or NOT APPLICABLE	645	5.2	13	6.5
ALL OCCUPATIONS	12,345	100 %	200	100 %

Source: Special tabulation, Statistics Canada, and EEH survey data.

In terms of the occupation of the heads of our sample of economic households there is at least one in each of the twenty-two condensed Statistics Canada categories, with the exception of «Fishing, hunting, trapping and related occupations» which is not surprising as there is no one in that category in the EMT-ELF in the Townships. However there are some notable discrepancies in the occupational distribution of our sample and that of the EMT-ELF in the Townships.

We have a higher proportion in the managerial, administrative and related occupation, 12.5% instead of 7.7%. Service occupations is another area where there is a notable difference, 13% in our sample as opposed to 6.4% in the EMT-ELF. The other major difference are processing 2.0% in our sample as opposed to 7.2%; and transport operating equipment, 10.5% in our sample as opposed to 5.4%... we had a lot of truck drivers.

Yet, the comparison of the two occupational distributions is somewhat problematic as the classification of the occupations of the household head into the 22 condensed categories of Statistics Canada is difficult. As well, in both distributions there is a substantial proportion, between 6 and 7% who are not classified. Furthermore it must be remembered that the Statistics Canada data is itself sample data and the weighting technique used by Statistics Canada to obtain an estimate of the population leaves room for further error.

However, if in light of these difficulties we collapse further the 22 categories into four more general categories: I- administrative professional and semi-professional (categories 1 to 7); II- other white collar (8,9 and 10); III- farming (11 and 12); and IV, other blue collar (13 to 22), the differences between the target population and the sample are as indicated in Table 3.

TABLE 3 - Comparison of the Occupational Distribution of the Townships Male, EMT-ELF, 1981 and of the Heads of Household, EEH Sample, 1983, amongst Four General Categories.

	Townships Male EMT-ELF	Head of the EEH Sample
I - Administrative professional and semi-professional	21.3%	25.5%
II - Other white collar	18.6%	20.0%
III- Farming	12.5%	11.0%
IV - Other blue collar	40.2%	36.0%
Not classified	6.8%	6.5%
Total	100%	100%

Source: Special tabulation, Statistics Canada and EEH survey data.

In the light of Table 3 the occupational bias of our sample may be stated thus, over-representation at the level of administrators, professionals and semi-professionals and under-representation at the level of blue collar workers. Notwithstanding, the degree of over and under representation at these two levels is not, in our view, serious.

One explanation for occupational distortion in our sample is age. In fact, of the 200 households, only one has a head under twenty-five years of age. An older-age bias would contribute to their being a higher proportion in

the managerial category than in the labour force generally. Such an age bias might have been introduced by the use of electoral lists, such lists may favour more established and more stable elements of the population.

On the other hand the English labour force of 1983 may, for reasons we will not discuss here, be considerably older than the EMT-ELF of 1981. This possibility points to the difficulty of checking for age bias in a 1983 sample by using 1981 statistics. We will nevertheless come back to the question of the age-structure of the English population of the Townships in chapter three.

The Questionnaire

The EEH questionnaire which constitutes Appendix C is ten pages long and is divided into five sections (Characteristics of the Household; Extent of Economic Activity; Relationship to Economy; Opportunities; and Other) and contains 83 questions. Occupational and other economic information was gathered on all adult members of the household. In the subsequent coding and analysis two units of analysis were used, the household as a unit and the head of household as a unit. Needless to say not all the information gathered was coded and interpreted. Finally, the questionnaire itself was tested and modified in a pilot stage comprising ten interviews which were not included in the final sample.

The Youth Survey

With a view to a more adequate representation of the youngest element of the English economic population, we surveyed, by telephone, a sample of all the students who left the four high schools in the region in 1981. Given the presumed older-age bias in our EEH sample, the decision to construct a second sample of youth who are entering the labour marked proved to be most fortunate. In the course of the analysis we have been able to use the Youth Survey

sample to control our EEH sample. Chapter nine is devoted exclusively to a discussion of the Youth Survey results. In the following paragraphs we describe how this second sample was constituted.

In order to become part of our one hundred member youth sample, a subject had to be English mother-tongue. Further, he had to have attended one of the four English language secondary schools in the Townships and have left that school in 1981. In other words, in the school year 1980-81 these young people were registered in the graduating class of their respective high-school, and, whether or not they actually graduated, they did not come back to school the following year.

A number of different sources (school administrations, year-books, etc.) were drawn upon, and with the help of resource persons (school staff, ex-teachers, Townshippers members, friends and their families) a list of subjects responding to the above criteria was established. These individuals form our target population which added up to a total of about 450[1] ex-high school students distributed among the four schools in the following proportion: Thetford Mines 4%; Galt 47%; Richmond 14% and Massey-Vanier 35%. Since our sample was indeed going to comprise only one hundred individuals, the actual size of the sub-samples randomly selected from the respective school lists was determined by the above proportions (i.e. 4 from Thetford, 47 from Galt, 14 from Richmond and 35 from Massey-Vanier lists).

Of the one hundred names initially drawn, 14 had to be replaced because the interviewer was unable to get in touch with them and succeeded in obtaining, at the most, only rumours as to their whereabouts. However, these

---

1- In the case of one school an estimate, as opposed to an actual count, of the total number eligible for inclusion was established upon the basis of indications supplied by resource persons. We then proceeded to find this number of subjects.

rumours did not necessarily point to departures from Quebec. Another, or fifteenth person, categorically refused to be interviewed and was replaced.

Since the Youth survey was seen as being complementary to the EEH survey it was considerably shorter and carried out by telephone: 38 questions were asked and at the level of coding and analysis 27 variables created.

Economic Development

With respect to the question of economic development in the Townships, our remarks in chapter ten are based on four documents on development in the region:

I - Projet ESTAE: Livre blanc sur l'orientation du développement de l'Estrie (CRDE, 1973);

II - Avis sur l'orientation du développement de l'Estrie (Sherbrooke: CRDE, 1973);

III - Problématiques et orientations: la problématique de l'Estrie (O.P.D.Q., 1978);

IV - Analyse de la situation économique et stratégie de développement industriel, zone spéciale de Sherbrooke-Magog (Gaucher -Pringle, 1982);

as well as a discussion with Mr. L. Blanchette, economist of the CRDE.

As for the more detailed evaluation of one case of development in progress -- the Starobe case -- in the course of the last year and a half I visited the area twice and met with the chief organizer of Starobe, Mr. Winter, four times. Throughout this period I followed developments, at the level of discussions, with both the provincial and the federal governments.

Significance of Relationships

In the course of the analysis of the EEH and the Youth survey findings, the possibility of relationships existing between certain variables was explored. This was done by calling for two-way cross-classifications during the computer treatment. The level of significance of the relationships was determined by using the Pearson Chi Square. All relationships in which the level of significance was above 0.05 were rejected: in other words if there was more than a 95% probability that the relationship was due to chance the postulate of a relationship was rejected.

Use of Percentages

In most tables percentages have been rounded off to the nearest unit. This was done, in the case of the two surveys, in view of the small numbers involved; and in the case of census data, because further precision would be illusory given the limitations of the data alluded to earlier in the chapter. As a consequence of rounding off table percentage totals may actually add up to a little more or less than the 100% indicated (sometimes as high as 102%).

II - HOW MANY AND WHERE

At the time of 1981 Canadian census (June 1) there were 48,260 English mother-tongue individuals in the twelve former counties or census divisions constituting what we have designated in this study as «The Townships». This figure represents, as Table 4 shows, a 6% decline since 1971.

The approximately fifty thousand Townshippers constitute 7% of the entire English mother-tongue population of Quebec (706,110 in 1981) which itself experienced a 11% decline since 1971. Hence, the English Townships population has held up, at least until 1981, better than the overall Quebec Englisn population. In the Townships themselves the English population constitutes 8.5% of the population, down from 9.7% in 1971 (see Table 5).

Geographical Distribution

In the two tables just referred to, the geographical distribution and proportional presence of the English Townshippers across the twelve historical counties or census divisions is recorded. In terms of numbers the major counties are Sherbrooke (9,910), Brome (7,905), Stanstead (7,405), Missisquoi (6,895), Shefford (4,305), Richmond (4,080) and Compton (3,680). However in all of these seven counties, with the exceptions of Brome and Missisquoi, there has been an absolute decline since 1971. In Brome and Missisquoi there has been small increases, small relative to the declines experienced in the other five, 14.5% in Richmond for example.

Interestingly enough, in the eastern counties (Frontenac, Wolfe and Arthabaska) where the English presence is minimal, there have been very significant increases! If we refer again to our map (Figure 1) of the Townships, it becomes apparent that in the last decade the English presence, in both absolute numbers and relative to the French population, has declined in the core or the region centered on Sherbrooke and increased slightly on the eastern and western peripheries.

TABLE 4 - English Mother-Tongue Population of the Townships, by Census Division, 1971 and 1981

Census Division	1971	1981	% Change 1971-1981
Frontenac	280	340	+ 21.4%
Compton	4,215	3,680	- 12.7%
Wolfe	390	430	+ 10.3%
Megantic	1,395	1,105	- 20.8%
Arthabaska	305	495	+ 62.3%
Richmond	4,770	4,080	- 14.5%
Sherbrooke	11,130	9,910	- 11.0%
Stanstead	7,935	7,405	- 6.7%
Brome	7,690	7,905	+ 2.8%
Shefford	4,605	4,305	- 6.5%
Drummond	1,975	1,710	- 13.4%
Missisquoi	6,635	6,895	+ 3.9%
Total Townships	51,325	48,260	- 6.0%

Source: Special tabulations, Statistics Canada.

TABLE 5 - English Mother-Tongue Population of the Townships as a Percentage of the Total Population, 1971 and 1981

Census Division	1971	1981
Frontenac	1.0%	1.3%
Compton	19.7%	17.9%
Wolfe	2.4%	2.7%
Megantic	2.4%	1.9%
Arthabaska	0.6%	0.8%
Richmond	11.6%	10.0%
Sherbrooke	11.0%	8.5%
Stanstead	21.9%	19.4%
Brome	50.2%	45.3%
Shefford	7.4%	6.1%
Drummond	3.1%	2.4%
Missisquoi	19.5%	19.1%
Total Townships	9.7%	8.5%

Source: Special tabulations, Statistics Canada.

The Labour Force

However, not everyone in a population is part of the labour force. In the case of the English mother-tongue population of 48,260 in 1981, 40% or more precisely 19,370 were in the «experienced labour force». Owing to the increased participation of women in the labour force, the English labour force in the Townships actually grew by 6% in the last decade despite a 6% decline in the overall English population. These figures and the size of the EMT-ELF can be found in Table 6. What should be kept in mind is that when we speak of the English labour force of the Townships we are talking of scarcely 20,000 individuals in 1981.

Households

On the basis of the above information -- 50,000 people and 20,000 workers -- we can speculate that with an average household size of between 2.5 and 3 persons, and given that a certain proportion of the 50,000 live in institutions of one sort or another, there are certainly less than 20,000 English households in the Townships (somewhere between 15,000 and 20,000). Above and beyond what this means in terms of the size and density of the community we are concerned with in this study, it means that we have in our English Economic Household survey a more than one-hundreth sample of all the English households in the Townships.

TABLE 6 - English Mother-Tongue Experienced Labour Force in the Townships, 1971 and 1981

Census Division	1971	1981	Change % 1971-1981
Frontenac	145	135	-6.9%
Compton	1,445	1,315	-9.0%
Wolfe	120	170	+41.7%
Megantic	480	440	-8.3%
Arthabaska	100	270	+170.0%
Richmond	1,645	1,490	-9.4%
Sherbrooke	4,325	4,235	-2.1%
Stanstead	2,655	2,830	+6.6%
Brome	2,600	3,100	+19.2%
Shefford	1,655	1,845	+11.5%
Drummond	735	830	+12.9%
Missisquoi	2,340	2,710	+15.8%
Total Townships	18,245	19,370	+6.2%

Source: Special tabulations, Statistics Canada.

III- WHO ARE THE ENGLISH TOWNSHIPPERS OF THE EIGHTIES

In this chapter our purpose is to characterize the present English Townshippers in terms of a number of basic social characteristics, and a further series of more specific characteristics deemed pertinent to this study. However, the subject of occupation, income and the whole language issue will be left until later chapters.

Age

As suggested in the previous discussion on the representativity of our sample of household heads, the sample is no doubt somewhat older than the actual population of household heads. But the age bias, assuming as we do that there is one, would be in the youngest category, the 16 to 24 years old category, those not likely to have got themselves on the local voter's list. Past this age group we doubt that those factors determining failure to get on the voter's list are age-based.

Let us first consider the age of our household heads in terms of first, the EMT-ELF of all of Quebec and of the Townships; second, in terms of French mother-tongue experienced labour force (FMT-ELF) of the Townships; and third, in terms of the overall English and French mother-tongue population of the Townships. In Table 7 we have presented the proportion of the EMT and the FMT experienced labour forces in each of four age-group categories for all of Quebec (columns 1 & 2) and the Townships (columns 3 & 4). In the last column of Table 7 we have indicated the age distribution of our sample of English household heads. Before consulting the table it should be noted that the 45 to 64 category covers twenty years as opposed to ten as in the case of the three others.

TABLE 7 - Age of the English and French Mother-Tongue Experienced Labour Forces, 1981 and of the Heads of Household EEH Sample 1983.

Age Category	Experienced Labour Force: Quebec 1981 EMT	Quebec 1981 FMT	Townships 1981 EMT	Townships 1981 FMT	English Economic Households: Townships 1983
16-24	24%	26%	22%	26%	1%
25-34	27%	30%	25%	30%	17%
35-44	19%	20%	19%	20%	29%
45-64	29%	23%	30%	23%	54%
65+	3%	1%	4%	1%	100%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	

Source: Special tabulation, Statistics Canada, and EEH survey data.

Beginning with the labour force, the English labour force of Quebec is slightly older than the French labour force. In the Townships the English labour force is considerably older than the French labour force: 22% in the youngest category, as opposed to 26%; and 30% in the 45 to 64 age category, as opposed to 23%. However, our English economic household heads are very much older. Of the 200 member sample only one was under 25! The category 25 to 34 is greatly underrepresented, and above 35 years of age the over-representation is enormous: 29% in the 35 to 44 category as opposed to 19% in the labour force, and 54% in the 45 to 64 category as opposed to 30%!

A full half of the households are headed by people over 45 years of age! What is the significance of this: is the English population really that old or is there an age bias in the sample? Although we are prepared to admit that our sampling method produced an age bias (the younger couples may not be on lists established up to three years ago) such a bias could not likely account for the difference between the 1983 household head age-structure distribution -- our sample -- and the 1981 labour force distribution -- census data. Our reason for making this claim is that the aged character of the household sample is systematic: it gets progressively more marked as one ascends in the age scale.

The most plausible explanation that comes to mind is that the English population is aging quickly as a result of two factors: one, a disproportionate number of younger families are migrating out of the Townships; and secondly, younger anglophones are not establishing new families. We hypothesize that both are the case. A further and conclusive indication of an aging process is the rather dramatic fact that 18.5% of the overall English mother-tongue population of the Townships was over 65 in 1981, as compared to 8.7% of the French mother-tongue population (Table 8). Hence the aged character of our household sample is a reflection of a rather dramatic aging process in the English population of the Townships.

TABLE 8: Age Structure of the EMT and FMT Population of the Townships, 1981

Age Category	EMT	FMT
0 - 14	18.7%	23.7%
15 - 24	16.3%	20.0%
25 - 34	13.9%	17.5%
35 - 44	10.7%	12.0%
45 - 64	21.8%	18.0%
65 +	18.5%	8.7%
	100%	100%

Source: Special tabulation, Statistics Canada

Children

Although our use of the concept of household does not necessarily imply the presence of children, children are of course an essential dimension of households and the nuclear family. In the survey we distinguished between «under-age» and «adult» children, the cut-off age being eighteen (hence a youth of eighteen living at home becomes an «adult child»).

Of all the households half (49%) had young children (under eighteen) only living at home. Of those homes with young children one-third had only one

child at home and two-thirds, two or three. Only 7% of the households with young children had more than three children at home. A full quarter of households had no children in the house. A further fifth had either «adult» children (13%) or a combination of young and adult children (9%). This last figure is noteworthy: in one out of five households, a son or daughter of over eighteen was still living at home.

Family Network

The availability of other family members, relatives or grown children, is a very important consideration in the decision as to whether or not families decide to stay on in a community. Accordingly, we asked whether or not the adults in the household had family nearby and about the present location of children no longer at home.

To our surprise, in 91% of the cases, either the head of the household or the spouse or both had family nearby. With regards to adult children: of families in which children had left home, in 80% of the cases at least one of the departed children was in Quebec, and in 48% of the cases, there was one in the Townships. In only 20% of the cases had all children who had left home left Quebec. We shall return to the question of the importance and role of the family network for the population being considered here in chapter seven «Social Life».

Education

We established the educational qualifications of our respondents in terms of eleven categories ranging from some elementary to a post-graduate degree. As for the heads of households, one-quarter of them have a complete elementary

education or less. A full half had some or complete secondary education and the remaining quarter had some post-secondary education of some kind or another. However, of those in the last group (possessing some post-secondary education) a surprisingly high number had a first or second university degree. Indeed 12.5% of the entire sample are university graduates: this is our first indication that we are dealing with a bi-modal population; a population in which there are two distinct sub-populations, one characterized by low income and low educational qualifications and the other by high income and high qualifications.

TABLE 9 - Educational Qualifications of Heads of Household

Some elementary	6.5%	Elementary 25.5%
Completed elementary	19.0%	
Some high-school	24.0%	Secondary 51.0%
Completed high-school	27.0%	
Some post-secondary other than University	4.0%	Post-secondary 11.0%
Completed post-secondary	5.0%	
Some university	2.0%	
Completed university	5.5%	Completed university 12.5%
Post-graduate degree	7.0%	

Religious Tradition

Conscious that the religious tradition from which one descends may influence one's economic *behaviour*, we asked our respondents whether they were of a Protestant or of a Catholic background. Again we were surprised, the proportion of a Protestant tradition is very high: in 78% of the households the two adult members are of a Protestant background; only 11% are of a Catholic background and 10% were mixed, while 2% are of other religious traditions.

IV- The ENGLISH AND THE TOWNSHIPS

The most startling result of the EEH survey was the extent to which the existing English population of the Townships is indigenous, and how determined it is, despite present problems, to stay.

We inquired about place of birth, time spent outside the Townships whether or not they wanted to stay and where they would like to retire. In addition, we have census data for 1971 and 1981 on the migration status of the labour force. The place of birth data, first of the heads of household and then of the head couple of the household, are presented in Table 10.

TABLE 10- Place of Birth of Heads of Households and of Head Couple[1] of Households

A) Head of Household

Same municipality	41%	Townships 78%	
Elsewhere in Townships	38%		
Elsewhere in Quebec	12%	Quebec 90%	
Elsewhere in Canada	6%		Canada 96%
Outside Canada	4%		
	100%		

B) Head Couple of Household

Both born in Quebec	82%	One born in Quebec 95%
One born in Quebec	14%	
Both born outside	5%	
	100%	

1- A full 90% of the households were a two-parent family situation.

Amongst the household heads, 41% were born in the same municipality, 78% in the Townships and 90% in Quebec. When the origins of both members of the couple were taken into consideration the results were in the same direction, in 82% of cases both were born in Quebec, in 95% of cases at least one was born in Quebec.

There are at least two factors contributing to the above results. One is selective out-migration: those born elsewhere or who have moved once are more likely to move again. The other factor is decreased immigration into Quebec of anglophones born elsewhere. This last tendency is very apparent in the census data on the migration status (where one lived five years ago) on the English labour force (Table 11).

TABLE 11 - Migration Status of the English Experienced Labour Force in Quebec and in the Townships, 1971 and 1981

EMT-ELF	Non-migrants (same municipality)	Internal Migrants (Different municipality)	Inter-provincial Migrants	Inter-national Migrants	Not Stated	
Quebec						
1971	72.3%	13.6%	6.1%	6.2%	1.7%	100%
1981	78.1%	15.1%	4.3%	2.4%	100%	
Townships						
1971	79.2%	14.3%	2.5%	2.6%	1.4%	100%
1981	77.5%	18.3%	2.8%	1.4%	100%	

Source: Special tabulations, Statistics Canada.

The revealing columns are those that indicate the percentage that lived in another province or another country five years before the census was taken (inter-provincial and inter-national migrants). In Quebec the percentage

of the English labour force who lived outside of Quebec five years previously fell from 12.3% in 1971 to 6.7% in 1981. In the Townships the figure fell from 5.1% in 1971 to 4.2% in 1981, a decline of over 20%. Hence in the Quebec English labour force there was in the decade 1971 to 1981, a decline of 46% in the proportion of those living outside of Quebec five years previously; in the Townships, where the proportion of those who come from outside of Quebec is traditionally lower, the decline was of the order of 20% in the same decade.

Residence Outside of Quebec

A further confirmation of the indigenous character of the English population of the Townships is to be found in their limited experience outside of Quebec. Three-quarters (74%) of all the household heads have never lived outside of Quebec, and only 15% have lived for more than five years outside of Quebec, a further 11% lived for from one to five years outside of Quebec. As 10% of the sample were actually born outside of Quebec and were more than likely over five years old when they came to Quebec, this means that something in the neighbourhood of 85% of the Quebec-born members of our sample have never lived outside of Quebec for more than one year.

Attachment to the Townships

We asked our respondents if they wanted to stay in the Townships. Despite what they think, as we shall see later, of the poor prospects for the

region and for their children, a full three-quarters intend to stay, 18% were conditional and only 6.5% -- one in fifteen -- said they would prefer to leave.

A further indication of this attachment to the Townships is to be found in the answer to the question on where they would first look for another job if they lost their present job. Of those who had a job, 64% said they would look in the Townships and only 17% said they would look outside of Quebec (a further 4% replied «where the jobs are» 4% «elsewhere in Quebec» and 12% had not thought about it).

Finally, when asked about where they would like to retire, 69% want to retire right where they are and a further 3% somewhere in the Townships for a total of 72%. However 11% want to retire elsewhere in Canada and 12% in the United States (5% had not thought about it).

Attachment to the Townships or at least their local area seems quite strong in the English community of the Townships. Although the proportion that prefer to stay, three-quarters, is the same as the proportion reported upon in the literature as being the proportion of all Canadians who prefer to stay in their region,[1] it is nonetheless remarkable that in the face of the present linguistic and economic difficulties there has not been a more considerable erosion of this will to stay.

1- The Schwartz study as reported by R. Mathews, p. 83.

V- WHAT THEY DO FOR A LIVING

In this chapter we will consider what English Townshippers do for living in terms of occupation, income, where they work (size of the establishment) and how much they work. A certain number of considerations linked to acquiring security -- home ownership, life insurance and retirement plans -- will also be considered.

Occupation

Statistics Canada has a condensed or collapsed occupational classification in twenty-two categories which we used in chapter one. We have presented here the occupational distribution in terms of these categories of the English and French labour forces, first for Quebec (Table 13) and secondly for the Townships (Table 14). But before we take on these rather intimidating tables we shall begin by (Table 12) considering the same data in an even more collapsed form, the four broad categories of: I - managerial, administrative, professional and semi-professional; II - other white-collar; III - farmers; and IV - other blue-collar. Once having approached the question in terms of these broad categories we proceed to the more detailed tables.

TABLE 12 - Broad Category Comparison of the Occupational Distribution of the English and French Experienced Labour Force in Quebec and in the Townships, 1981

Categories	Townships English	Townships French	Quebec English	Quebec French
I - Managerial, administrative, professional and semi-professional (Cat 1-7)	23.0%	19.0%	29.0%	22.0%
II - Other white-collar (Cat 8,9,10)	30.0%	33.0%	44.0%	39.0%
III- Farmers (Cat 11,12)	9.0%	6.0%	2.0%	3.0%
IV - Other blue-collar (Cat 13-22)	32.0%	39.0%	21.0%	31.0%
Not classified or stated	7.0%	5.0%	5.0%	5.0%
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Special tabulation, Statistics Canada.

The English labour force of the Townships still had a significantly higher proportion of its workers in the highest category (23.0%) than did the French labour force (19.0%) in 1981. At the other end of the spectrum its representation in the blue-collar category is lower: 32.0% as compared to 39.0% for the French population. In between, there are proportionately more English farmers and fewer English white-collar workers.

These differences can be explored further by consulting Tables 13 and 14 which provide the same labour force distribution in terms of both numbers and percentages across twenty-two categories. For instance 6.3% of the English labour force in the Townships (Table 14) as opposed to 4.8% of the French labour force is in the top managerial category, which is not an enormous difference. In fact

as one peruses Table 14 it becomes apparent that the difference between the English and the French occupational distribution in the Townships is not considerable with the possible exception of farmers (there are, proportionally, more English) and factory workers (more French).

The similarity of the French and English distributions becomes all the more apparent when one compares the Townships and the Quebec-wide English labour forces. Returning to our four broad categories (Table 12), in the top category one finds 29% of the Quebec English labour force, as opposed to 23% in the Townships. In the other white collar category one finds 44% of the Quebec English workers as opposed to 30% in the Townships; and finally, only 21% of the Quebec English labour force in the blue-collar category as opposed to 32% in the Townships. Indeed, the occupational distribution of the English Townships labour force is closer to the distribution of the French labour force, in Quebec and in the Townships, than it is to the Quebec English labour force.

At this point one particularity of the occupational distribution of the English labour force in the Townships merits further attention and that is the high proportion of farmers (see Table 12). Proportionally, there are 50% more farmers in the English than in the French population of the Townships (9% as opposed to 6%); and over four times as many farmers in the English population of the Townships as in the English population of Quebec (9% and 2% respectively). In our sample (see Table 3) 11% of the household heads are farmers. The existence of such a substantial land-based component in the English population of the Townships is a fact, the significance of which we shall return to in the conclusion.

TABLE 13: Comparison of the Occupational Distribution of the French and English Mother-tongue Experienced Labour Forces, Quebec, 1981

	English	French
1) MAN. ADMIN. & REL. OCCS.	10.5%	6.2%
2) OCC. IN NAT. SC. ENG. & MATH	4.5%	2.8%
3) OCCS. IN SOC. SC. & REL. FIELDS	1.8%	1.5%
4) OCCUPATIONS IN RELIGION	0.3%	0.4%
5) TEACHING & RELATED OCCUPATIONS	5.1%	4.6%
6) OCCS. IN MEDICINE & HEALTH	4.5%	4.9%
7) ARTISTIC-LITERARY-REC. & REL. OCCS.	2.3%	1.5%
8) CLERICAL & RELATED OCCS.	23.6%	18.2%
9) SALES OCCUPATIONS	10.8%	9.2%
10) SERVICE OCC.	9.1%	11.7%
11) FARMERS	0.7%	1.1%
12) FARM. HORT. & ANIM. HUS. OCC.	1.2%	1.7%
13) FISH. HUNT. TRAP. & REL OCCS.	0.2%	0.1%
14) FORESTRY & LOGGING OCCS.	0.2%	0.9%
15) MIN. QUAR. INC. OIL & GAS FIELD OCCS.	0.2%	0.5%
16) PROCESSING OCCS.	2.8%	5.1%
17) MACHINING & RELATED OCCUPATIONS	1.8%	2.5%
18) PRODUCT FAB. ASSEMB. & REPAIR OCC.	6.7%	9.1%
19) CONSTRUCTION TRADES OCCS.	2.8%	5.7%
20) TRANSPORT EQUIP. OPERATING OCCS.	3.2%	4.2%
21) MAT. HAN. & REL. OCC. NEC.	1.5%	1.8%
22) OTHER CRAFTS & EQUIP. OP. OCC.	1.3%	1.4%
OCCS. NOT ELSEWHERE CLASSIFIED	0.8%	0.9%
OCCS. NOT STATED	4.1%	3.9%
ALL OCCUPATIONS	327,865 (100%)	2,437,470 (100%)

Source: Special tabulation, Statistics Canada.

TABLE 14 - Comparison of the Occupational Distribution of the English and the French Mother-tongue Experienced Labour Forces of the Townships, 1981.

	English	French
1) MAN. ADMIN. & REL. OCCS.	1,230 (6.3%)	11,090 (4.8%)
2) OCC. IN NAT. SC. ENG. & MATH	530 (2.7%)	4,200 (1.8%)
3) OCCS. IN SOC. SC. & REL. FIELDS	230 (1.2%)	2,750 (1.2%)
4) OCCUPATIONS IN RELIGION	80 (0.4%)	875 (0.4%)
5) TEACHING & RELATED OCCUPATIONS	1,225 (6.3%)	10,950 (4.7%)
6) OCCS. IN MEDICINE & HEALTH	805 (4.2%)	10,805 (4.8%)
7) ARTISTIC-LITERARY-REC. & REL. OCCS.	295 (1.5%)	2,410 (1.0%)
8) CLERICAL & RELATED OCCS.	2,745 (14.2%)	32,160 (13.8%)
9) SALES OCCUPATIONS	1,260 (6.5%)	20,095 (8.6%)
10) SERVICE OCC.	1,735 (9.0%)	24,275 (10.4%)
11) FARMERS	685 (3.5%)	5,680 (2.4%)
12) FARM. HORT. & ANIM. HUS. OCC.	1,135 (5.9%)	7,130 (3.1%)
13) FISH. HUNT. TRAP. & REL OCCS.	0 (0%)	20 (0.01%)
14) FORESTRY & LOGGING OCCS.	75 (0.4%)	1,255 (0.5%)
15) MIN. QUAR. INC. OIL & GAS FIELD OCCS.	65 (0.3%)	2,310 (1.0%)
16) PROCESSING OCCS.	1,200 (6.2%)	17,090 (7.4%)
17) MACHINING & RELATED OCCUPATIONS	800 (4.1%)	8,510 (3.7%)
18) PRODUCT FAB. ASSEMB. & REPAIR OCC.	1,775 (9.2%)	31,350 (13.5%)
19) CONSTRUCTION TRADES OCCS.	835 (4.3%)	13,170 (5.7%)
20) TRANSPORT EQUIP. OPERATING OCCS.	675 (3.5%)	8,305 (3.6%)
21) MAT. HAN. & REL. OCC. NEC.	420 (2.2%)	4,145 (1.8%)
22) OTHER CRAFTS & EQUIP. OP. OCC.	265 (1.4%)	3,035 (1.3%)
OCCS. NOT ELSEWHERE CLASSIFIED	240 (1.2%)	2,010 (0.9%)
OCCS. NOT STATED	1,065 (5.5%)	8,695 (3.7%)
ALL OCCUPATIONS	19,370 (100%)	232,315 (100%)

Source: Special tabulation, Statistics Canada.

Finally, with regard to the evolution of the occupational distribution of the EMT-ELF of the Townships over the decade 1971-1981, we have chosen not to present it because the percentage in the «not stated» category in 1971 is so high (over 10. 4% for the province of Quebec) as to render -- given the small numbers involved and other sources of error (see «Census Data» in chapter one) -- the comparison of little value.

Income

Income is a delicate question and we did not wish to ask our respondents to reveal their precise income: no doubt they would have refused had we asked them. Instead we asked our respondents to indicate in which broad income category their total income before taxes fell. All but fourteen of 200 respondents provided us with the information, in a further three cases the question was not applicable . Table 15 presents the results.[1]

TABLE 15 - Income of the Heads of Household

Income Category	%
Less than $15,000	42%
$15,000 to $25,000	26%
More than $25,000	32%
	100%

Some 42% had an income of less than $15,000; 26% between $15,000 and $25,000; and 32% had an income of over $25,000. What is striking about these figures is that they point to, as we have alluded earlier, a bi-modal

1- In the survey there were more than four categories, however the first (less than $5,000) and second ($5,000 to $15,000) were collapsed for the purposes of Table 15.

population. On top there is a group who have relatively high incomes, those who work in the public sector and in the large private companies; and on the bottom another group consisting of those who work in the private sector or who work seasonally in either the public or the private sector. The relationship between income and the sector of the economy where one works shows up in our results to be discussed in the next section.

We suspect that this bi-modal distribution points to a declining or even missing class in the present English population of the Townships, the category of small merchants who could be expected to swell the ranks of the $15,000 to $25,000 category. This category of persons has almost disappeared from the English population: we encountered very few in our sample.

Where they Work

We asked our respondents if they worked in the small-scale private sector (establishments of up to fifty employees); in the large-scale private sector (over fifty employees); or in the public and para-public sectors. Of those working, 46% or close to half are in the small-scale private sector; 27% in the large-scale private sector and 27% are in the public sector. [1]

Given the rather low cut-off point between small and large scale private concerns used in the survey, one can conclude, we suggest, that henceforth, half of the English labour force is in the small-scale private sector, one quarter in the large-scale private sector and the last quarter in the public sector.

1- Henceforth «public sector» will imply inclusion of the para-public sector.

The small-scale private sector includes those who are self-employed. Approximately one-quarter of those employed are self-employed,[1] which it would seem to us, is a rather high proportion. The high proportion of farmers, 10%, contributes of course significantly to the size of the self-employed group. If we reconsider the distribution of the rest among the three sectors referred to in the preceding paragraph we come up with the following observation: of those who are not self-employed: one-third work in companies with less than fifty employees, one-third in companies with over fifty employees and one-third in the public sector.

Up to this point, we have considered occupation, income and sector of the economy separately. In the course of our analysis we tested the relationship between these characteristics and others. We were in fact able to determine that there is a strong relationship between, on the one hand, education and income; and on the other, the sector of the economy in which one works: those in the public and large-scale private sector make more money and are better educated. Furthermore, the same relationship exists between birthplace and income: those who were born in the Townships earn less. All of this provides further confirmation of the bi-modal model of the English population of the Townships: a low income indigenous population in the small-scale private sector and a less indigenous high income, better educated, population in the large-scale private and the public sector.

1- This is entirely consistent with an earlier study, Caldwell 1981.

How Much They Work

In addition to inquiring about their participation in the official economy we tried, by a series of questions, to determine the amount of work (economic activity) carried out in the non-official economy. As for the official economy the results were as follows:

TABLE 16 - Employment Status of Heads of Household

Employment Status	Number	%
Full-time	145	73%
Part-time	5	3%
Seasonally	14	7%
Unemployed	24	12%
Early retirement	11	6%
Not applicable	1	1%

Of the two hundred household heads, 12% were unemployed. However, only 73%, less than three-quarters, enjoyed full-time employment.

Obviously, a certain proportion of our respondents depend upon unemployment insurance or welfare. A full 52% either were on unemployment insurance (8%), dependent upon it periodically (10%), or had used it in the past (34%). As for welfare, 4% admitted having drawn upon it in the past and 5% were presently drawing welfare. As 91% told us they had never drawn welfare, and given an understandable reluctance to reveal welfare dependency, we conclude that at least 10% of our sample were either on welfare or had drawn it in the past. As we shall see in chapter IX the situation with regards to recourse to unemployment insurance and welfare is drastically different in the ranks of the youngest members of the labour force.

In order to get some idea of the extent of an individual's participation in the unofficial economy, we began by inquiring about the total number of hours worked «on the job» and «off the job», our purpose -- which we explained to respondents -- being to detect the hours spent in casual employment and producing at home.

TABLE 17 - Total Hours Worked per Week, Heads of Households

Hours	Number	%
Less than 35	16	8 %
35 - 45	23	12 %
45 - 60	38	19 %
More than 60	116	58 %
Not applicable	7	4 %
		100 %

More than half of the heads of household, 58%, work more than sixty hours a week or ten hours a day for six days a week. A further 19% work from 45 to 60 hours a week, which means that over three-quarters (77%) work more than forty hours a week. When it comes to «off the job» work, those who are already employed full-time do the most of it.

The Unofficial Economy

As mentioned, we went to considerable effort to detect the degree of participation in the unofficial economy. We asked about home production (food, fuel, shelter and car repairs, etc.) casual employment, mutual aid and exchange in kind. As for the last three activities, the answers were classified in terms of three categories: «not at all», «to some extent» or «a great deal». With regard to home production we were more precise: the categories and the results are:

TABLE 18 - Extent of Home Production in the English Economic Households

Categories	Number	%
Almost everything (food, fuel, repairs) obtained by payment	110	55 %
Part produced at home (up to 25% of food and some repairs)	54	27 %
More than 25% of food produced at home and most repairs	36	18 %
		100 %

Only 18% engage in significant home production. And, as it turns out, there is no relationship between whether or not a person is employed and whether he produces a great deal at home. However, there is a very definite relationship between the extent of home production and income: those who earn less produce more at home; whereas those who earn more produce less, preferring to buy what they need.

As for the other three types of unofficial economic activity, exchange-in-kind, mutual aid and casual employment, no such relationship exists. To begin with, exchange in kind is almost non-existent as a significant economic activity, only 3.5% replied «a great deal». Mutual aid is more frequent, 35% said they are involved in mutual aid arrangements «a great deal». As for casual employment, only 8% have recourse to it «a great deal». Of the three forms of economic activity, the only one that is significantly related to income or employment status is casual employment, and negatively: as income increases recourse to casual employment decreases.

Security

Over and above what people «do for a living», there is the economic security they have managed to provide for themselves. One of the major forms of security in Canada is home ownership, others are life insurance and retirement plans. We solicited information on all three subjects.

Owning or buying a home is the major form of security for English Townshippers: a full 88% of our sample owned or were in the process of buying their home. An almost equally high proportion, 81%, have life insurance. However, only half, 55%, have a retirement plan. Home ownership is then the most prevalent form of security, and is positively related to income, as are life insurance and retirement plans.

VI - THE LANGUAGE ISSUE

Language, or rather the situation created by the co-existence of English and French in their environment, is of course a crucial dimension of the economic activity of English Townshippers. We asked the members of our sample about language use at home, at work, in their social life, and in the market place. In addition language came up in their answers to questions concerning their perception of their and their children's job prospects; which answers are to be discussed in chapter eight.

It will be recalled that one of the criteria in our delimitation of the population to be sampled in our economic household survey was that the mother-tongue of the household head be English. Hence, it is not surprising that in 92% of the sampled households English is the language most often used. Still, 6% do use English and French and 2%, English and another language.

Yet when the household head goes to work he encounters a different linguistic reality: 42% work in English, 26% in French and 32% in both languages. However, the fact that 42% work in English does not mean that the language of the work environment is necessarily English. In addition to asking our respondents what language they work in, we asked them (at another point in the questionnaire) what the language of their co-workers is and the answers were: English 25%, French 35% and English and French, 40%. The juxtaposition in Table 19 of two series of replies--language of work and language of co-workers -- indicates that whereas almost three-quarters (42% plus 32%) of our respondents work in an environment where English is at least present, only one-quarter work in an entirely English environment. Another quarter work in an entirely French environment; whereas the remaining half find themselves in a mixed linguistic work environment.

A further construction of the percentages in Table 19 -- read the «mostly English» column -- is that although 42% of our respondents say they work mostly in English, only 25% say their co-workers are mostly English. No doubt what we have here, given the age of our respondents, is a manifestation of the deference exhibited towards older English workers by French-speaking co-workers.

TABLE 19 - Comparison of Language of Work and Language of Co-workers for Heads of Households

	Mostly English	Mostly French	Both	
Language of Work	42%	26%	32%	100%
Language of co-workers	25%	35%	40%	100%

After the home and the work-place it is probably the sphere of social life (in the conventional sense of the term) that is the most important in terms of whether or not one can establish social relationship in one's own language.[1] Over three-quarters (77%) of our respondents use primarily English in their social life; whereas only one fifth (21.5%) use both English and French -- 1% only use mainly French.

If the home and one's circle of friends are the terrain upon which one voluntarily establishes close relationships with other persons who constitute our intimate world, the market place in our liberal economy is more likely to be the scene of an inter-action with a broader world. A little less than half (43%) of our respondents use mostly English in their commercial transactions, while over half (57.5%) use mostly French (22%) or both (35.5%).

1- Without such relationships, the continued existence of the culture that the language presupposes is extremely problematic.

The 43% figure for mostly English is strikingly reminiscent of the 42% for whom the language of work is English. As these two domains of experience, work and the market place, are the two areas in which one participates (via the economy) in the wider social context it is reasonable to conclude that forty per cent of English Townshippers are relatively isolated from that wider social francophone context because they live, work, socialize and shop in English.[1] Of course, the obverse is that the other sixty per cent, because they do manage to function in this wider social context are more or less «integrated». The juxtaposition of the language of work, language of social life and language used in the market place results (Table 20) reflects this state of affairs.

TABLE 20 - Juxtaposition of Language used at Work, in Social Life and in the Market Place, Heads of Households

	Mostly English	Mostly French	Both	
Work place	42%	26%	32%	100%
Social life	77%	10%	12%	100%
Market place	43%	22%	36%	100%

1- Although we did not have the occasion to test the relationship we have hypothesized that the language one uses at work and the language one uses in the market place are very closely related.

The Children's Education

An aspect of the language issue which creates a cruel dilemma for individual English Quebecers is the question of which language they will educate their children in. Of those in our EEH sample who have children, 78% educated their children entirely in English, 8% in French and 13% in both. Summarizing, three-quarters educated their children entirely in English, and one-quarter in French or a combination of English and French.

The proportion who at one time went to school in French is less than we expected, given the number of English mother-tongue children eligible for schooling in English who were in French schools in recent years. Yet the findings of the EEH survey were confirmed by those of our Youth Survey: only 7 of our one hundred youths received some French schooling. Further, these findings are corroborated by the fact that the number of English mother-tongue children in French schools in all of Quebec has been declining, going from a high of 14,000 in 1979 to 7,000 in 1982[1] and the observation that enrollments at the kindergarten level in English schools are stabilizing.

Our interpretation of this is that this «return to the English school» is a combination of selective out-migration -- the mobile well-educated high-income earners who were the most inclined to send their children to French schools have been the ones most inclined to leave Quebec -- and of an increased sense of cultural insecurity in the English milieu. As to the relative weight of these two factors we have, as of yet, no idea. However, there is no doubt that there has been a decline in the sense of cultural security, which insecurity reflects itself in how our respondents see their future (chapter eight).

1- Conversation with Michel Paillé of the Conseil de la langue française, Nov. 18,1983.

VII - SOCIAL LIFE

In the course of carrying out the present study one of the conclusions that we have come to is that the English population remaining in the Townships is isolated in the sense that the horizon of their social world is quite limited. If they manage to carry on as well as they do it is because most of them were born here and still have family nearby.

Information we gathered with respect to church attendance and participation in voluntary associations contributed to our arriving at this conclusion. Half (52%) of our respondents do not go to church at all and only one-fifth are active members. Furthermore, 39% do not belong to any voluntary association, while 25% belong to one association, 14% to two and only 23% to three or more. The level of participation in church and voluntary associations varies of course from one municipality to another, for instance nine households out of ten are church goers in Leeds-Kinnear Mills and eight out of ten belong to at least one voluntary association. Notwithstanding, the overall reality, at least as reflected by our EEC sample, is that English families are remarkably isolated in terms of the English milieu.

As to their level of participation or «integration» into the wider francophone society we have a number of indicators. Previously we discussed the extent to which our respondents socialize, work and shop in French. We also asked a question regarding their knowledge of their provincial and federal deputies, the language of the radio and television programmes they listen to and watch, and the newspapers they read.

Of the household heads, 40% could not name either of their deputies, while 8% could name one and 49% could name both. As for newspapers, one fifth

(19%) read no newspapers, 35% read only a local English paper, 12% read a non-local English paper only (The Gazette) while 21% read both a local and a non-local English newspaper. However, half of our respondents (35% plus 21%) read a local English paper. Only 12% read English and French newspapers. As for radio and television, 85% listen to and watch English language programmes only, while 15% expose themselves to English and French media.

To conclude, we know that 40% of our sample live, work, socialize and shop in English. We also know that 20% read no newspapers, 50% do not go to church, 40% do not belong to a voluntary association. These indicators reflect, we submit, both the high degree of isolation within the English milieu and the low level of integration into the wider francophone milieu. What would be interesting to know is whether there is any relationship between degree of isolation within the English milieu and level of integration into the francophone society of Quebec: although we have data to at least explore this question, it was not the purpose of the present study to examine in depth such questions.[1]

1- It is anticipated that this question will be examined in further analysis of the EEH survey data.

VIII- PERCEPTION OF THE FUTURE

One of the major axes of the study was the perception English Townshippers have of their economic future. In order to probe their perceptions we asked a series of questions about their job, amongst which «What do you think your chances of advancement are?» and «Do you think you could find another job in the Townships if you lost your present job?». Inevitably, one's hopes and fears regarding the future get translated into one's aspirations for one's children; accordingly we asked about job prospects for young people. In a further series of questions on job prospects we asked what they perceived the obstacles to be—if indeed there were obstacles—to finding satisfactory employment or earning one's living in the Townships; and whether or not job prospects were better or worse for children of francophones.

Opportunities for Advancement

In general English Townshippers are happy with the degree of advancement achieved in the past, but they are no longer interested in advancement. When asked about opportunities for further advancement, those working (including the self-employed) replied:

TABLE 21 - Opportunities for Future Advancement, Heads of Households

Nil or poor	Some	Very Good	Not Seeking Advancement
28%	14%	15%	44%

This state of affairs reflects the holding pattern of an aged work force attached to the area and their homes, and who are content to continue as they are until retirement, even early retirement if necessary.

Job Prospects

When asked if they thought they could find another job in the Townships if they were to lose their present job, the answers were:

TABLE 22 - Perceived Chances of Finding Another Job in the Townships

Nil or poor	Some	Very Good	Have not Considered the question	Would Become Self-employed	
35%	23%	13%	14%	16%	100%

Two aspects of responses to the «chances of finding another job» question surprised us: first, that only 13% thought there was a good chance of finding another job and that 16%, rather than try would simply intensify some kind of home-based activity (machinery repairs, etc.) and try to manage that way.

However, as suggested, one's estimate of what the future holds finds free vent in what one thinks one's children's prospects are. A full 83% say that employment prospects are nil or poor for English youth, 15% said they are «okay» and 2% that they are good! When asked if employment prospects for English youth are worse than for French youth, one-half (46%) said they are definitely worse, one-third said they are somewhat worse, one-fifth said there is no difference and 4% replied that they are better for English youth. In effect three-quarters believe that employment prospects are worse for English youth than for French youth. And what do the young people think themselves... this we touch on in the next chapter.

TABLE 23 - Employment Prospects for English Youth, Replies of Heads of Household

Nil or poor	Okay	Good	
83%	15%	2%	100%

Obstacles to Economic Opportunity

When asked to comment on whether or not there were obstacles to finding satisfactory employment and earning one's living in the Townships respondents spoke in terms of four obstacles... almost everyone saw obstacles. These were: the poor state of the economy; the need to be bilingual; the present government, its policies and excessive government regulation; and discrimination against anglophones. Without a doubt the first factor, the depressed state of the economy, was the obstacle most often invoked. The need to be bilingual was the second most important obstacle invoked, and it is depicted as a «matter-of-fact» problem. Obviously these different obstacles were not seen as independent, one of the other; the state of the economy and the language policies of the present government were often seen as inter-dependent. As far as the last three obstacles are concerned (the present government, its policies and discrimination against anglophones) we remarked--as have others--that any anger or bitterness is largely addressed against the government as opposed to francophones. The only exception is the frustration and anger unilingual anglophones from smaller centres experience when they shop in larger centres like Drummondville or Asbestos.

IX - THE FUTURE: THE YOUTH SURVEY

Our purpose in including a youth sample in the study was to allow ourselves a glimpse of the experience of the youngest members of the English Townships labour force. To do this, it will be recalled, we decided to interview by telephone a sample of one hundred English mother-tongue 1981 high-school leavers.[1] Our target population consists of 1981 English language secondary five high-school leavers and is of the order of four hundred and fifty young people. In our representative sample of one hundred,47 come from Galt Regional High-School, 35 from Massey-Vanier, 14 from Richmond and 4 from Thetford Mines.

In addition to their sex, the only descriptive characteristics other than those connected with the object of the survey -- what they are presently doing and in what language -- were birth-place, religion and marital status.

Of the hundred, 70 were born in the Townships and a further 16 elsewhere in Quebec for a total of 86% from Quebec, a figure which is very high, yet comparable with the results of our EEH survey in which 90% were Quebec born. In both cases only one out of ten is from outside of Quebec.

1- For further information on the construction of the Youth Survey sample consult Chapter I.

TABLE 24 - Comparison of Birth-Place, EEH Sample, Heads of Household; and the Youth Survey

	EEH Sample Heads of Household N = 200	Youth Survey N = 100
Townships	78%	70%
Elsewhere in Quebec	12%	16%
Elsewhere in Canada	6%	3%
Elsewhere	5%	11%
	100%	100%

Of the one hundred youths, 72 are from a Protestant background, 23 are from a Catholic background and 5 are from a mixed or other religious background. Again this compares with the survey of households with the exception that the proportion of Catholics is twice as high in the Youth Survey while the proportion of mixed is lower, both of which can be largely attributed to the Richmond students of which half (7) are of a Catholic background.

Finally the sex distribution and marital status of the youth sample: Of the one hundred, 58 are females and 42 are males, an imbalance due entirely to the sex distribution in the Galt sub-sample.[1] As our youngsters were approximately eighteen years old at the time we contacted them, we would not expect many to be married. In fact 8 are married, 3 are living in common-law and one was married and is now no longer.

1- See the «Youth Survey» section of chapter one for a discussion of this point.

Where They Are

Probably the most relevant aspect of where our former students are and what they are doing two years after having left high-school is whether or not they are in Quebec. As it happens, 23 out of the hundred are out of Quebec. Given that there is bound to be a certain in-Quebec bias[1] in such a survey -- the 14 in the sample as originally drawn whom we could not trace are more likely to be out of Quebec than those we did contact -- we conclude that a quarter of the young people were out of Quebec.

But many of those who are out of Quebec presumably left to study, which brings us to the question of how many are still in school to which the answer is half (49). Only four are studying part-time and the 47 others are not in school. Hence, if we disregard the very small proportion who are part-time students we observe that half are still in school and the other half are either on the labour market or married or both. Incidentally, the proportion in school varies greatly from school to school with Thetford Mines holding the best record, 4 out of 4; Richmond the worse, 2 out of 14; and the other two in between, Galt, 29 out of 47; and Massey-Vanier, 12 out of 35.

We turn now to the employment status of the 47 not in school: 21 are employed full-time, 4 part-time, 1 seasonally and 21 are unemployed. To extend our profile of the youngest sector of the «economic» population of eighteen-year olds: of the half out of school; one-quarter are working and one-quarter are unemployed. Of those actually on the labour market, the unemployment rate is 50% (of the 8 who are married 5 or more than half are fully employed).

1- Our experience in previous out-migration studies of English mother-tongue high-school leavers confirms this, see Caldwell 1980.

It is now time to compare the employment status of those in Quebec and those out of Quebec. Of the 77 in Quebec 15 or 20% are employed, of the 23 out of Quebec 9 or 40% are employed (in both cases a certain proportion of those not employed are in school). The level of full-time employment of those who are no longer in school and who are out of Quebec is twice as high as amongst those who are still in Quebec.

When it comes to part-time and seasonal employment, it is the Quebec group which is the most active. Of 30 who work part-time or seasonally, 27 are in Quebec and only 3 are outside of Quebec.

We also asked our young people whether or not they had had, or were having, recourse to unemployment insurance and welfare. Eight were presently on unemployment insurance and 12 had had recourse to it in the past. In other words, 40% of those out of school had, in the two years since they left school, been on unemployment insurance. As for welfare, seven were presently on welfare and five had drawn on it in the past, for a total of 12%; one-quarter of those out of school had, in the two years since they left school, been on welfare. We encountered able-bodied young people who had been out of school for two years and who had never worked and were presently drawing welfare.

The Language They Use

As could be expected, all but a few use English at home, 93; however four use French and three use English and French. Only one out of these seven cases of use of French in the home is the result of marriage to a francophone.

When it comes to language used at work, the situation is quite different than it is with the older population of the EEH survey. Of the 24 who are working full-time or part-time in Quebec, 14 work mostly in English, only 5 work mostly in French and 5 in both. The proportion working mostly in English (58%) is higher than in the case of the older workers, of whom only 42% work mostly in English.

Since our young workers are as bilingual as their elders, we have here an indication that employment opportunities for young anglophones in the current economic context are increasingly the product of «contacts». This deduction is amply substantiated by what our respondents told us about how they got their jobs. The same is of course true for francophones. However, relative to French, the English opportunity networks are contracting as francization proceeds. The consequence of this for young English workers is that a stagnant economic condition combined with francization has resulted in a quickly shrinking range of opportunities.

In social life 69 out of the one hundred young people used English most often, as compared to 77% of the older workers; 7 use mostly French and 24 use both. In the market place 47 use mostly English, 18 French and 35 both: proportions very similar to those found in the case of the older workers (43%, 22% and 36% respectively). Given that of the hundred 23 are out of Quebec, it is apparent that the young workers who have the occasion to, are every bit as able and inclined, even more so, to function in French. It is only on the job that they do not have the occasion to do so because so few of them—a total of eleven-have the occasion to work in a French environment (5) or a mixed linguistic environment (6). Social life and market place language use confirm that the

young people are as bilingual as the older workers. The fact that most of them do not work in a French or mixed French/English linguistic environment is hence not an indication that they cannot function in French; it is rather, as we have suggested, an indication that employment opportunities in French are not available. On the other hand, if work language and the language in which one shops are seen as indicators of integration into the wider francophone society, the proportion of the young workers who have an opportunity to be integrated is not only not higher, it risks becoming lower.

Lastly, we were interested in knowing what language the members of our Youth Survey had been educated in. It will be recalled that one-fifth of the heads of household in the EEH survey had received part of their schooling in French. In the case of our Youth Survey, only 7 (or 7%) had received schooling in French. Yet the fact that we, by definition, found these young people in English high-schools limits greatly the significance of the comparison. Notwithstanding, we are surprised that not more of them had attended French primary schools. Indeed, five out of the seven who had in fact attended French primary schools were Catholic (which means that out of the 76 non-Catholics, only 2 attended a French primary school).

Life in the Townships

Only 16 out of the hundred young people are regular church-goers and over half (57) never attend. As for community activities, 85 do not belong to any association of any kind. However, they do have their families close by. In 93 cases the parents are in the Townships, and in four of the remaining seven cases the young person and his parents are both out of Quebec.

As far as attachment to the Townships itself, our young people want to stay, but not to quite the same extent as in the case of the older workers: 46 want to stay, 33 are ambivalent and 15 do not want to stay. We recall that three-quarters of the respondents in the EEH survey were determined to stay. In the case of the youth sample the proportion has fallen from three-quarters to half. When it comes to where they would look first for another job, or their first job in the case of those studying, only half (48%) would look in Quebec whereas two-thirds of the older workers said they would look first in Quebec.

Overall characterization

Relative to the older population of the economic households, the young people in our Youth Survey are much more exposed to unemployment and more dependent upon unemployment insurance and welfare. Furthermore, a smaller proportion of them work in French and they are less likely to have been educated in French. Indeed, the job opportunities available are significantly less for them than was the case for their parents at the same stage of their life. Finally, these young people are less attached to the Townships and more inclined to look outside of Quebec for employment.

X - THE QUESTION OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE TOWNSHIPS

In this very summary treatment of a much discussed and much studied question we shall touch only on what is pertinent to our interest: economic opportunity for English Townshippers. Nonetheless, the question of regional economic development is pertinent because English and French Townshippers participate substantially in the same economy, and without development there will be limited opportunities for everyone. Consequently, our brief overview of the question is limited to a certain number of observations on both the amount of economic development in the Townships, and the strategies for regional development that have been advanced in the last fifteen years.[1] In addition we invoke the Starobe case and attempt to interpret what happened in the context of economic development in the Townships. The end product is a number of reflections on the implications of all of this for English Townshippers.

Observations

To be blunt and to the point, the Estrie[2] region, which was until the second world war, one of the more dynamic regions of Quebec in terms of economic development has not been developing for over twenty years. In the sixties the region experienced a period of stagnation, a condition which has, in the eighties, come perilously close to decline. The primary sector (mines and forestry) had ceased to grow, the once-dynamic manufacturing sector stopped growing and an expanding tertiary sector which is nonetheless dependent upon wealth generated in the primary and secondary sectors came to an abrupt standstill in the 1982 recession. During a period of over twenty years, 1960 to 1980 there were no

---

1- The source material and persons drawn on are listed in chapter 1.
2- In the literature referred to the geographical area under consideration is administrative region #5, or "l'Estrie."

new major industrial installations in the Sherbrooke area. The most important installations are still the industries which have been here for over a hundred years.

The failure of economic development to take place in the Townships, despite the well-known need to provide for the inevitable decline of the «soft» industrial sector (textiles, clothing and shoes) -- or in the language of economic development the need to achieve industrial conversion -- is dramatized in the Gaucher-Pringle report by a comparison of what happened in the Sherbrooke-Magog area with what happened in the Burlington-Nassua area of Vermont. Both are located in the same geographical area, both suffered from an aging industrial base, and both suffer from a distance-to-markets handicap: the one area achieved industrial conversion and the other did not.

As to the causes, several have been invoked upon various occasions, some of them being locally determined while others are extra-local. Undoubtedly, the non-local factors such as the protective nature of the Canadian tariff and the present uncertain political situation in Quebec are beyond the influence of Townshippers. However, there are two local causes that have been invoked in government planning reports upon several occasions. They are the weakness of local enterprise and leadership on the one hand; and the failure to mobilize local capital for local investment on the other.

Before moving on to a brief consideration of the development strategies advanced, we must qualify the above appreciation of economic development in the Townships with the observation that 1983 appears to have been a good year in terms of investment[1] at the level of small and middle-sized enterprises. Yet it remains to be seen if this represents the beginning of a new era of economic development in the region.

1- See J'investrie, vol. 2, no.7, Jan. 1984.

Strategies

Over the last fifteen years, thinking regarding strategies as to how one could stimulate economic development in the Townships has evolved. In the early seventies, the authorities were inclined to deplore the lack of an overall Quebec economic development strategy within which there would be a place for l'Estrie, and more particularly Sherbrooke. Much effort was devoted to coming up with orientations that would serve as guidelines to the formulation of a plan that would fit within the expected Quebec-wide developmental strategy. But, the Quebec-wide plan never came, nor did development in l'Estrie.

Once it became apparent that a plan to be implemented by «concertation» among the various economic actors in the region was not likely to come about, there was a tendency to fall back on the chase after large projects that might be attracted to the region. Loss of the IBM project to Bromont was, in this respect, a major blow, for the Sherbrooke area at least.

More recently and wiser from experience, authorities in the field have articulated a strategy that takes into account economic trends in the continental economy, Canadian commercial policy, the potential of companies already established in the region, as well as the possibilities offered by provincial and federal incentive programmes. In addition, it has been recognized that the tertiary or service sector should no longer be counted upon as a source of jobs in the region; that the present manufacturing sector must be modernized to face eventual international competition; and that the future lies in the export market. There is also less inclination on the part of local economists to think that salvation will come in the form of large projects brought in from the outside and there is, correspondingly, more interest in encouraging local manufacturing enterprises to develop and expand in function of the export market. At the same time there is an interest in high technology, although this interest is conditioned by the very sober realization that the kinds of jobs likely to be created here by the industry will not have a very great technical or scientific component.

As to the question of mobilizing local capital for local development, the record of the last twenty years has not been spectacular, to say the least. Two important initiatives, the «Caisse d'Entraide Economique» and the local SODEC, the «Société de Développement Economique de l'Estrie» have encountered considerable difficulties.

The other factor often cited as a missing component in the development formula, lack of local entrepreneurship and leadership, is harder to evaluate. Without a doubt there has been a whole series of successful business ventures in the region inspired by local entrepreneurs. A very considerable effort of «economic» education has been undertaken, MBA programmes in the province are full, and the role of entrepreneur has taken on a new social significance. But perhaps a distinction has to be made between entrepreneurship and leadership. Do we in the Townships possess the leadership necessary to achieve economic development? If such leadership exists its influence does not yet appear to have been decisive.

One explanation for the late emergence of a local economic leadership is that local leadership was not, in the past, necessary. While the manufacturing sector was expanding the leadership was always forthcoming from elsewhere, largely from American corporations. While in the heyday of the expansion of the public sector, the sixties and early seventies, the leadership came from Quebec City.

The Starobe Case

In both respects, the capacity to mobilize local capital and leadership, the Starobe story -- the attempt to re-open a cutting tool installation in the Stans-

stead - Rock-Island - Beebe area -- is an interesting case in point. The project is a major one: it could lead to 200 permanent jobs in two to three years time. What are usually considered the necessary ingredients, an assured market, a skilled and well-disposed labour force, willingness of the local municipality to facilitate things, and all of this in a basic industry,were assured. In fact a feasibility study commissioned by the federal government pronounced the project feasible. Interestingly enough, the project as eventually formulated, is based on the export market (the USA), as opposed to the Canadian market which was the market served by the original Butterfield installation when it was closed by Litton Inc. in 1982.

But despite the fact that here was a solid developmental opportunity, as confirmed by the feasibility study, the project has encountered enormous difficulties.

How does one explain the excessively difficult gestation of the Starobe project? In this commentator's opinion two key factors explain this tortuous trajectory: lack of willingness to commit local capital until the project has been endorsed by government; and lack of political influence. Let me explain. The local promoters, those who carried the ball until an outside promoter was found (International Cutting Tools Inc.) were able to mobilize local support and some local capital, but they were not in a position to risk this capital. Only entrepreneurs backed by «risk» capital are able to take this kind of leap.

Unable, or at least unwilling to act until governments acted, the local leadership was in a weak position in its negotiations with government. Governments, of course, act only under pressure and Starobe lacked the bargaining

power to apply pressure, notably the capacity to take their development elsewhere; or at a minimum, the threat to embarrass government by proceeding without them. Furthermore, government wondered whether there was enough entrepreneurial leadership behind a project in which the original principals were unwilling to commit even the funds required for a feasibility study before government itself committed funds.

Once the entrepreneurial leadership was sufficiently present -- after the entry into the picture of a promoter from outside the Townships -- the obstacle then became, not gaining government approval of the feasibility of the project (government endorsement was given by a steering committee composed of representatives from various government departments and funding agencies which would be called upon to provide financing) but rather that of lobbying the project at the political level. At this point it was a question of whether or not the Starobe proposal would be given preference over other projects from the Townships that had received similar endorsement. Mr. Lumley, the federal minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, initially turned it down on the pretext that a further $600,000 in risk capital would have to be put up by the Montreal promoter or the local community to finance the anticipated first-year operating loss. Government (federal and provincial) was being asked to put up 80% of the risk capital and this was too much the minister maintained (and we are inclined to agree). Subsequently, the federal government and the promoters came to terms and the ball was left in the provincial government's court: its

announcement of participation in the project appears to be all that is preventing start-up. Provincial politicians, including a cabinet minister, had previously endorsed the project verbally. It now remains to be seen if the English community has enough political clout to hold them to their word.

Risk capital, entrepreneurial input and political influence, that is all that Starobe has been short on. Exactly the ingredients that the region as a whole is said to be short on. On the other hand, leadership at the local community level, as opposed to the regional level has been so extraordinary that it now appears that the project will succeed.

Implications for the English of the Townships

There is little doubt in this commentator's mind as to the consequences of the present economic stagnation for the English community of the Townships. Indeed, continued non-growth means continuation of the present state of affairs whereby opportunities for employment are very limited for Townshippers, but particularly for young English workers. The result will continue to be high out-migration and, on the part of those who stay, reluctance to form new households. In other words the status quo will result in the continued decline, as was the case in the decade 1971 to 1981, of the English community.

Furthermore, should the economic situation begin to improve elsewhere (in Ontario or in Western Canada) before it does in the Townships, there will be a renewal of the heavy out-migration of the late seventies. Historically there has been heavy out-migration from Quebec, not in good times, but when things have been better elsewhere than in Quebec. When economic conditions are uniformly bad people tend to stay near their home base.

Given the status quo and the continued decline of the English community, the region would lose, in the long term, one of its much celebrated advantages, a bi-cultural setting. Yet, if things are to change there has to be, at least in as far as the local impediments to development are concerned, more leadership and better mechanism for mobilizing local capital. Since in a case which particularly concerned its members—the Stanstead-Rock-Island-Beebe Starobe project—the English community has not been able to demonstrate the regional leadership and the capacity to mobilize capital regionally, one wonders what would be the pertinent contribution of the English community as such to the regional push for economic development. On the other hand, were the English community able to demonstrate a capacity to stimulate economic development it would increase, accordingly, not only job opportunities for its own constituents, but also its political influence in the region. Reducing the political impotency from which the English community has been suffering would be, we maintain, a very important step towards increasing job opportunities. In the next and concluding section we try to draw out the concrete implications of the above analysis.

CONCLUSION

The English Economic Population of the Townships

We begin with the observation that the Townships' English economic population now takes on a definite bi-modal distribution, that is it is composed of two rather distinct sub-populations: on the one hand the highly educated high-income earners who are largely in the public and large scale private sectors; and on the other hand, a lower-income group which works largely in the private sector, either in small companies or who are self-employed. Both types of sub-populations are, of course, to be found in any Canadian region. What is missing in the Townships' English population is a middle group composed of small merchants, entrepreneurs and lower management. In the Townships, of the two groups we have pointed to -- one on the bottom and the other on the top of the income scale -- it is the lower-income group that constitutes the vast majority, amongst which most of the farmers.[1]

We turn now to a characterization of the English Townships labour force as a whole. The most striking characteristic of this economic population is how fast it is aging. This aging process is a consequence of heavy out-migration of younger workers, and the difficulty the remaining younger members experience in establishing themselves and having families. The selective out-migration is a phenomenon we were not able to observe directly in this study -- we observed only the consequences -- but others have documented it.[2] As for the low marriage rate, it is manifested in the marked recent decline in fertility

---

1- Although they may be rich in assets most Townships farmers do not have high incomes.

2- Mireille Baillargeon 1983, table 9, p.58.

in the English population of Quebec.[1] Selective out-migration and failure to establish households and have families have the effect of depriving the existing population of replacements at the lower, younger, end of the age pyramid. In the absence of significant immigration the consequence is rapid aging of the community, as has happened in the case of the Jewish population of Montreal which went from 11% in the over 65 years old category in 1971 to 20% in 1981. The comparable figure for Quebec as a whole was 8.8% in 1981. A similar process is at work in the English population of the Townships: in 1981 a full 18.5% of the English mother-tongue population of the Townships was over 65 years of age.

In addition to its aging character, the present English work force of the Townships is very indigenous and very attached to where it lives. Most of its members were born in the Townships and have family nearby. In fact an amazingly high proportion have never lived for any significant length of time outside of the Townships. Furthermore, the majority want to stay and intend to retire here.

Because they have family nearby, own their homes and have roots in the Townships they envisage being able to stay even in view of the difficult economic situation. They would look first in the Townships for another job, and if they did not find one, work on their own or simply envisage early retirement. As a quarter of them are already self-employed and as most of them are over forty, either possibility can easily be envisaged.

However, young people do not have jobs to hang on to until early retirement, nor do they own homes. Consequently, they are more inclined to look outside

---

1- Robert Maheu (1983).

of Quebec for jobs and are less committed to staying in the Townships. They are, in fact, much less likely to stay than their parents.

Over and above a relative economic security, we suspect that it is the existence of family networks and roots in the immediate area that makes life socially viable for most English Townshippers. As for the 40% who live, work, socialize and shop mostly in English they experience less linguistic isolation because they are able to enjoy a fully contained English language network; or because of their inability to speak French, they have been obliged to limit the horizons of their everyday world to the English network such as it is where they live.

Obviously, there are still a few areas of the Townships where there is a fully contained English world, Lennoxville for example. It would be interesting to determine if the 40% who live largely in English come from certain of the twenty municipalities in the survey. The continued existence of such areas as places where people who, for some reason or another, have not been able to learn French, could live without experiencing too much isolation, serves an important function for the community. Yet in institutional terms the members of the English community as a whole are quite isolated: half never go to church and almost as many belong to no voluntary associations.

Hence, an aging indigenous population that is very rooted in the Townships and which will stay, barring very exceptional circumstances; but a population the replacement of which is far from assured if their children are unable to find jobs.

Because the population of parents is increasingly indigenous, with limited experience elsewhere, the children are of course going to be increasingly

the products of this indigenous population. Indeed, it is this indigenous population, amongst which the farmers, that has been and is more so, in present circumstances, the mainstay of the English community and its institutions. It was the more mobile, better-educated strata composed in many cases of people born elsewhere that tended to send their children to French schools and to patronize French institutions; or, in the more distant past, the English Catholics for whom intermarriage with Catholic francophones was frequent. As it is also this indigenous population that has a limited experience elsewhere, the offspring are, particularly if they come from that 40% of the English population that lives, works, socializes and shops mostly in English, somewhat limited in their horizons.

This, combined with the current stagnation of the Townships economy[1] and the tendency under such circumstances of jobs to be available only through contacts, means that English youth are even less likely than their parents to «integrate» into the wider francophone economy. As that part of the economy carried on in English is in fact contracting, owing to the decline of the anglophone public sector and to francisization, opportunities for employment are indeed limited for such people, independently of their skills. The only exception to this iron economic dictate are farming families who constitute one-tenth of the English population.

The Viability of the English Community in the Townships

Obviously, there will not be a viable English community in the Townships if the children of this community cannot find employment, be they jobs in an English or a French language environment. Opportunities for employment will be a function, on the one hand, of the level of economic development in the Townships; and on the other hand, of the capacity of the English community to generate jobs itself. In this last respect the English community will be

---

1- Barring the possibility of a turn-around that may have started in 1983.

able to generate jobs, English or French-speaking, to the extent that it is a socially and politically viable community... economic, social and political viability are, the literature suggests, inter-dependent.[1] The laborious pace with which the Starobe project has proceeded is a dramatic illustration of this inter-dependence.

At the moment, the social viability of the English community of the Townships is tenuous; the demise of its economic viability is clearly in sight; and politically it has ceased to be viable (although the success of the Townshippers in the typonomy and school reform issues constitute isolated «political» successes which auger well for the future).[2]

Could it be Otherwise

Under what condition might another future be envisaged? Barring a more pronounced dependence on agriculture as a way of life -- a distinct possibility -- one of the necessary conditions would have to be, we have argued, economic development in the region. In the absence of significant economic development in the Townships the future of the English population of the Townships appears quite limited. But is the English community in the Townships to do nothing but passively wait and hope for the economic development upon which its future so largely depends? Upon whom does development depend?

In the post-war period efforts to organize the whole region, or the collectivity of economic agents, with a view to economic development («concertation») have not proved adequate to the task. We suggest rather that particular

---

1- See in this respect Ralph Matthews 1982.
2- Incidentally, the introduction of the proposed electoral reform in which the territorial unit is the region might contribute to political viability by allowing for the possibility of an «English» deputy in the Townships.

segment of the regional population or specific economic actors will have to, if development is to take place, assume more of a leadership role; and that their successful actions will have the effect of mobilizing others. In other words, the «collectivity» as such, at least given its present political organization, is not likely to be the source of economic development in the Townships. On the other hand, if economic leadership there is to be, there is no reason why the English community could not be one of the segments of the population to assume such a leadership role.

In order for the English community to assume such a role in the furthering of economic development in the region it would have to be more effective than it presently is in terms of mobilizing and channelling capital for development in the region. One of the difficulties that presents itself is that at present there exist no English financial institutions in the Townships that might be appropriate vehicles for anglophones who would want to make part of their capital or savings available for development in their communities. Incidentally, as far as house building and small commercial ventures are concerned, the «Caisses Populaires» effectively provide this service to local francophone communities. The fact that one-quarter of the English labour force is self-employed is an indication that there could be no lack of investment opportunities for available English capital.

An English financial institution and the confidence it would inspire, if successful, could prove to be an important stimulant to small-scale, and even large-scale, economic development amongst the English population. It is worth noting that had such an investment vehicle been in place, Mr. Lumley could have been taken at his word when he said that the injection

of 3.5 million (2 in federal and 1.5 in provincial) government dollars into the Starobe project depended upon another $600,000 being raised by the promoter or the «local community». In return for a strong equity position of omething like one-third ownership -- no one but the two governments and the workers themselves to the extent of $100,000 was providing significant risk capital -- such a financial institution or fund could have considered investing $500,000 of risk capital into the project with the prospect of collecting substantial dividends were the project to succeed.

Of course, there remains the question as to how much «English» money still exists in the Townships, and of that which remains, how much of it would be available for development in the Townships? To what extent do the members of the upper mode of higher-income earners in the public sector and the large-scale private sector companies have disposab'e income to invest; and how likely are they to be interested in investing in the Townships? It is conceivable that the retired and established members of the larger more indigenous lower-income majority would be more disposed to invest in the region. There are questions to be examined. Nonetheless, of the more than fifteen thousand English households in the Townships is it unreasonable to suppose that one-third would be prepared to invest an average of five hundred dollars each or two and a half million to get such a capital pool established?

LIST OF APPENDICES

(Not included in the report but available upon request)

A - The Research Proposal

B - Documentation of the Sample Municipalities in Terms of the Criteria of Choice

C - The «English Economic Households (EEH) Survey» Questionnaire

D - The «Youth Survey» Questionnaire

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BAILLARGEON M., 1983, Evolution et caractéristiques linguistiques des échanges migratoires interprovinciaux et internationaux du Québec depuis 1971 (Québec: Conseil de la langue française)

CALDWELL G., 1982, English-Speaking Quebec in the Senventies and Beyond (Ottawa: Secretary of State)

1981a, Le Québec anglophone hors de la région de Montréal dans les années soixante-dix (Québec: Conseil de la langue française)

1981b, Those Who Stayed: How They Managed (Lennoxville: AQEM)

1980, Out-Migration of 1971 English Mother-Tongue High School Leavers From Quebec 1971-1979 (Lennoxville: AQEM)

1973, A Demographic Profile of English-Speaking Quebec 1921-1971 (Lennoxville: AQEM)

CRDE, 1973a, Projet ESTHE: Livre Blanc sur l'orientation d développement de l'Estrie

CRDE, 1973b, Avis sur l'orientation du développement de l'Estrie

GAUCHER-PRINGLE, 1983, Analyse de la situation économique et stratégie de développement industriel, zone spéciale de Sherbrooke-Magog

MAHEU R., 1983, La fécondité selon la langue d'usage en 1981 (Québec: Service de la démographie scolaire, Ministère de l'éducation)

MATHEWS R., 1983, The Creation of Regional Dependency (Toronto: University of Toronto Press)

OPDQ, 1978, Problématiques et orientations: la problématique de l'Estrie